/28 cont./

262 cooked down until thick, kumachí, and the extremely "hot" ají in various forms; products of fishing, fowling, and hunting, depending on the wealth of the region and the skill and weapons of the men, who preferentially dedicate their days to this.

●535 59. On a par with the intemperance of the Indians in drinking, and a consequence of it, is their fondness for dances. For all peoples the proverb was made: "From the belly comes the dance"; but among the Indians, dance and kachirí form a perfect equation; in practice the words dancers and drunks can [534] be considered synonymous. The drum, made of monkeyskin, the rué pipe, the harsh yagrumo tube, and the happy rattles of the kevei begin and end their sounds precisely at the beginning and end of the pouring of parakarí, paiuá, or any of the other 527 kinds of kachirí. When Indians are interrogated about the 535 object of their fiesta trips, with equal candor and without the slightest embarrassment they will answer that they are going to 273 dance or that they are going to get drunk. And when they do their planting they often told me that they were planting things to get drunk with, rather than thinking of their bread.

797 60. Unfortunately for the Indians, the dance, accompanied 535 by the use of alcohol or alcoholic beverages, had in the area 273 around Roroima, in the three nations grouped about this hydro- 171 graphic node (Venezuela, Brazil and British Guiana), Protestant propagandists, called Hallelujahns. The imaginative lucidity and that indefinable sensation of liberation from the material, which momentarily seem communicated by rhythmic dancing and alcohol and other drugs and infusions, were presented to the Indians by the said propagandists as a celestial illustration, liberation of the spirit and communication with the supersensible world.

This was raining on sop, since the Indians were already on their own too inclined toward drink, and that theory of the liberation of the spirit was also that of their piaches: so that the fondness for liquor was stuck into them like a clinched nail.

/30 cont./

273 Although I have written that the Indians do not move their
535 feet to dance without the stimulation of kachirí, this does not mean that drink is the cause much less the end of every dance among them. Nowhere in the world should the condition or the stimulation be confused with the cause.

Furthermore, although I stated that the dances tend to degenerate, as among ourselves, into disputes and less decorous acts, neither did I intend to say that everyone in the dances is reduced to committing reprehensible acts, nor that drunkenness is always extreme.

535 Among the most primitive Indians, as in more cultured societies, the dance is, above all, a manifestation of happiness, just as drink is its physiological cause. Vinum laetificet cor hominis.

Full belly, happy heart, says the proverb. The first thing the Indians want in their dances is diversion (in the etymological sense) and happiness; to free themselves from the daily struggle and the prosaicness of daily living, restricted as they are in a small circle of activities and social relationships.

65. Furthermore dancing in great choruses, with music, disguises, mimetism, drinks, etc., necessarily gives rise to that orgiastic exaltation, fever of phantasmagoric inspiration and like a liberation of the soul through tiredness and exhaustion of the body, although this might appear a paradox. There is no doubt that in this sense Menéndez Pidal wrote those verses: /31/

> "Blessed the nights -- clear ones of summer
> in which souls fly so free
> while bodies remain so languid."

And this is also why dances may have in the origins of all peoples a religious or magical sense. Let us remember the dances of David before the Ark, those of our seises /"sixes"/ before the Most Holy, on the one hand; and on the other let us

/31 cont./

remember those dancers of the twelfth century, who appeared in Artois and Flanders, whom Proodt tells us about in his book, Los Fenómenos misteriosos del Psiquismo /The Mysterious Phenomena of Psychism/, who "yielded themselves furiously to violent dances and exercises of dislocation, who asserted that they were favored with celestial visions. They would dance to the point of physical exhaustion, would fall like an inert mass, and seem to be lifeless." Why strange, then, that the Indians might not deceive themselves in the same fashion?

66. Dances are not organized to celebrate births, marriages, or deaths, since it is quite precluded by the extremely simple and private form of these, the restrictions imposed by the couvade with regard to the newborn and the asarakpué with regard to defunct relatives, all of these incompatible with the gluttony and imbibing in dances.

Neither are they organized as a preparation for great hunts or fishing; on the contrary, the men generally go out hunting or fishing six or eight days before them, while the women are preparing the fermented drinks.

67. The most ordinary reasons for dances are: construction of new dwellings, return from long journeys, and the simple desire of relatives to get together, since it is a fact that the Indians live very scattered, almost always only two or three families in each place. To this would have to be added the desire to make a show of wealth in food, almost the only thing which the Indians can at times show off, thus unknowingly fulfilling the caustic saying of our village people: "If he is so rich let him have dinner twice."

68. The most common autochthonous dances among these Indians are the tukui and the parichará; among the exotic ones, the origins of which we noted in our previous article, they perform in some regions the areruya chochimás.

In their dances the Indians customarily paint the face and the whole body with these three colors, principally: red from annatto, or achicote /sic/, white from clay or kaolin and

/31 cont./

535 marine blue (almost black) from caruto. This is not an over-
302 all smearing but more or less geometric paintings. As decorations are also used /32/ deer tails, showy bird feathers, rainbow-hued insect elytrums, which the men wear hanging over the back in the tukui dance.

In the parichará dance they use halos or crowns of feathers or palms woven in extremely varied forms and a skirt or covering of palm leaves (preferably of moriche palm), which hangs from waist to feet.

534 69. The musical instruments used are: the small drum
535 (only the director or head Indian) and reed /carricito/ pipes, called rué, for the tukui dance; more rarely, the kaikrá (small cane flute) and the uosekpué, flute made of deer tibia. In the parichará dance they use: a stick with kevei rattles or wild pig's hoofs (the director only), tubes of yagrumo to make hoarse sounds (perhaps in imitation of the grunt of váquiros). The above-mentioned leaf skirt, by the movement which they impart to it, also produces a very pleasant rustling sound and perhaps this is directed toward imitating more expressively the noise of váquiros in the forest. There is no doubt that formerly the rattles that men and women wore on their armlets, anklets, necklaces, earrings, and burls or tassels of the mosá (women's guayuco /"covering"/), contributed to marking the rhythm and added to the noise. In the marik dance hollow sticks of uaronká, a kind of bamboo, are used, and with them they hit the ground and keep time.

535 70. All these dances are done in a circle, and the Indians form this by placing the right hand on the shoulder of the person preceding; but the circle is not closed, leaving the leader's right hand free. The movements are regular and slow. When they dance the tukui and the parichará at the same time (a very frequent thing), the latter dancers form the inside circle and the former the outer one.

Those who dance the parichará always move with their faces toward the center and accompany the singing with toots

/32 cont./

535 on their kamadén (yagrumo) tubes, with swaying movements of the body from back to front or from left to right to make the skirt rustle, and they always walk somewhat hunched over. The dancers of the tukui walk as though in files behind the leader or drummer, sometimes in double file or paired, arm in arm. Sometimes the leader changes suddenly and makes them walk backward, a thing which usually catches them unaware and provokes great hilarity in them. At the end of each verse or poetic motif repeated an infinite number of times, steps are taken backward and foreward looking toward the center, where the camazas or canoes of kachirí are, great outcries are given, and /two plates appear here/ /33/ there is a pause for drinking. After a brief rest the owner of the drum again keeps time, intones new verses, and the dance continues until they run out of energy or drink. Some take turns resting so that the dance is not interrupted so long as there is kachirí.

71. It is needless to say that for mere observers such a dance, prolonged for 24 hours in succession, becomes monotonous.

535 But there is no doubt that the monotony diminishes for
538 the singers with the variety of verses; and it is even necessary
533 and marvelously effective when it is considered in the terrain of religion or of magic. (Remember the litanies and semi-intoned psalmody.) Whenever I deal with this matter, I remember the admirable reply of a Margariteño. I was talking to him about the monotony of certain dances and songs of theirs and he answered me with this dandy argument (as authoritative as a mace): "The frog knows fewer tunes and he spends the whole night singing."

538 72. The verses are generally in pairs, but without consonance or asonance (apart from one that is but a casual coincidence); sometimes logical parallelism occurs; also there is found in some cases the popular artifice of concatenation, in such a way that the last part makes sense with the first, e.g., the familiar "Three policemen tried to catch three because they said that they were three policemen."

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286 /For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of
291 Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178,
301 pp. 273-279./
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*192 273 234. Drinking bout — etaripan. (A jocose suggestion was made that this is the origin of the tribal name Taurepán.)

*192 ● 535 235. Dance (in general) — eren.

Social dances (these are more exactly characterized elsewhere):

236. parichara.

237. tukiiˀ. Literally "humming bird."

238. warepan.

239. warepan — miirepon.

240. ware.

241. katofˀ.

Magic (or piache's) dances:

242. mari

243. - 244. ɛrɛmba, with several varieties according to the purpose, e.g. okōyima-ɛrɛmba, for bites and ulcers.

245. Parichara costume: as a whole — parichara-pon.

246. head-dress — aroˀ.

247. skirt — (i)maripadai (cf. maripa, No. 443, from the leaves of which the skirt is made).

*192 k. Magic and religion.

*197 [256] 248. *Medicine-man (shaman, piache) — piatsan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) piasan. Cumanagoto (Adam) piache. This is, of course, the origin of the Venezuelan Spanish word "piache."

*192 *197 276 [254] 249. *Canaima (a sort of evil person or spirit, see section on religion) — kanaima. This word and the strange idea that it represents are practically universal among the Caribs. Williams shows beyond much doubt that our word "cannibal" comes (through Spanish) from this word and not, as has been generally accepted, from the name of the Caribs themselves.

250. *Evil spirit (personal name of a spirit) — piaima. In British Guiana piaches are called "piaiman" or "peaiman" and it is supposed that this is derived from some form of piatsan (even Williams apparently subscribes to this, quoting in Thurn to this effect without criticism). However, this is clearly the word piaima and in Kamarakoto and Taurepán, probably in Carib languages generally, piaima is an evil spirit or mythical being, a familiar of the piaches, perhaps even a sort of celestial piache, but not an actual human medicine-man. Moreover in these two dialects piaima is a name of one particular spirit, not a general term.

Fig. 33 — Kamarakoto Personal Adornment.

A, a man's belt of twisted strands of red, white, and blue beads. B, flat white bead-band necklace with streamers and tassels. C, multiple single-strand necklace of white beads and brown seeds. D, festooned white bead necklace with tassels and down-puffs. E, woven cotton woman's dance head-dress with back streamer with down-puffs.

535 Some dances, especially the parichara, require special ornaments or costumes. The parichara-pon, men's costume for this dance, consists of a diadem, aro[a], and a shirt, imaripadai, made of maripa leaves. The women, who otherwise are always bareheaded, wear for this dance a headband of woven cotton, inimo-katsa[a] (literally only "twisted fine cotton twine"), from the back of which projects a streamer with cotton tassels or puffs of down (Fig. 33 E). In another dance, warepan, the participants are said to be draped with cloth, but we did not see this and the description was so vague that I have no clear idea of the costume, nor have I found a description of it among related tribes although all of them apparently have this dance.

301 178 Back ornaments of various sorts seem formerly to have been typical of the central Caribs, but for some reason they are now dying out, at least in some regions, even though other types of native ornaments are as popular as ever or more so. I did not see or hear of any back ornaments among the Kamarakotos.

Tattooing and Painting.

304 [169] Tattooing is known and is occasionally practiced but it is not now very popular and most members of the tribe are not tattooed.[137] The pigment is a mixture of soot scraped from cooking pots, ainatoron, and wild honey, worked in, spot by spot, with a sliver of wood (or palm leaf rib). A steel sewing needle is now sometimes used if available. The mark left is a somewhat bluish black. [531] The patterns are not symbolic (consciously at least) or indicative of any social status; any individual can use any design that suits his fancy, and this is true also of painted designs. The tattooed designs do not cover any large area and are usually simple, often merely a spot or cross on each cheek. In exceptionally complex cases, several lines and spots may be made around the mouth (see Fig. 34). Koch-Grünberg has shown that hooked lines around the mouth are typical, but not universal, among Taurepán women (see 1923, Vol. III, Plate 12), as we also observed, and that it also occurs among the neighbors of that Arekuna tribe, but we did not observe this motif, either painted or tattooed, among the Kamarakotos.

302 Unlike tattooing, face — and to a lesser extent body — painting is universal among the Kamarakotos. Some individuals, especially among the boys and the more coquettish women, are usually painted; others, especially the more sedate men, paint only for dances and other social occasions; but all paint themselves at some times. No one uses a pattern consistently, but on the contrary all show considerable ingenuity in varying the pattern.

302 386 824 Soot and white clay, tauwa, are used for painting, especially for dances, but the usual paints are blue-black and red vegetable dyes. The blue-black paint, karõi, is the well-known Genipa dye, called "caruto" in colloquial

[text continues on p. 157]

137 [see footnote on p. 323, category 116—Analyst]

534 Duct flutes

With deflector (and stops) 7. End-blown flute, plug-flute, or flageolet.

[114] In Roth's earlier and less scientific classification these various instruments would appear as:

I. Wind	4.	Wooden trumpet.
	5.	Horn trumpet.
	6.	Flute.
	7.	Flageolet.
II. Reed (not observed)		
III. String (not used)		
IV. Percussion	1.	Seed pods.
	2.	Rattles.
	3.	Skin drum.
V. Friction (not observed)		

[114] Von Hornbostel's classification (in Koch-Grünberg) is essentially like that of Izikowitz but less detailed.

1. The numerous necklaces and arm or leg-bands to which are attached jingling objects are in effect jingle-rattles. Some of these are often worn in [533] everyday life without definitely musical intention. Jingling arm and leg-bands are, however, sometimes especially donned for dancing and then may be classed [824] as true musical instruments. Those seen were all of hard seed pods or small [237] fruit shells. Quite possibly hoof, bone, and beetle-wing jingle rattles, widespread in this part of the world, are also known but they must be relatively rare.

2. The Kamarakoto rattle is the well-known maraka (or "maraca"), a gourd rattle with a short wooden handle by which it is shaken. The handle passes entirely through the hard, hollow gourd, in which seeds or pebbles pro- [171] vide the sounding agency. Nordenskiöld and Izikowitz have shown how widespread such rattles are and the latter concludes that they have been diffused from a Central American focus, not, as has been claimed, exclusively or particularly by the Arawaks although, among other ethnic groups, these Indians [192] had a part in its spread. The Kamarakotos use the word maraka for it, an international word that has spread perhaps through the Tupi "lingoa geral" into [171] many, but not all, Carib and Arawak dialects. As is well known this instrument and the name "maraca" for it have been adopted in the Spanish-American culture of northern South America and the West Indies and with the recent popularity of the music of this region (especially Cuba) have become known to virtually the whole civilized world. The Kamarakotos' use of the instrument may confidently be considered aboriginal, as (collaterally) the source and not a derivative of the Venezuelan (Cuban, etc.) maraca. They use the rattle for

534 dancing, but a legend suggests its connection with magic, a connection which
535 Izikowitz believes to have been involved in the spread of this instrument. In
773 this legend a maraka appears as a magical instrument the sounding of which
224 causes peccaries, the favorite prey of hunters, to appear. In fact the use of the rattle in dancing is probably connected with this sort of hunting magic, although the connection is not now clearly recognized by the Indians.

534 3. The Kamarakotos make drums (Fig. 68) of various sizes but all are constructed in the same way and all are light and portable so that the player can carry one and dance at the same time. The kettledrum and the tubular (open bottom) drum are unknown, only the two-headed form being used. The body is made of a section of a tree trunk (a white, soft, unidentified wood) of appropriate diameter, with the center hollowed out. A single round hole is
[237] made in the side as an air vent. The drumheads are made of hide, deer, lapa, peccary, etc., — a specimen has deerskin on one end and peccary on the other and apparently any hide of proper size is used indiscriminately. The hair-side is out on the finished drum but the hair is removed from the exposed surface.
[284] The skin is lashed by spiral curagua windings to a liana hoop of proper size to fit snugly on the drum body onto which it is slipped. It is held in place and the drumhead stretched by placing a second hoop distal to it (nearer the end of the drum) on each end and these tightening hoops, which are not fastened to the drumhead or body, are drawn toward each other by a crisscross lashing of heavy cords. Where these cross, at the middle of the side of the drum, a circular lashing of the same cord is fastened and from this a carrying cord projects, which may be made into a loop by tying its end to one of the lashings. The drum is carried in one arm and played with a single stick held in the other hand.

114 The origin and distribution of drums in South America have given rise
171 to extensive discussion, most of which is adequately summarized by Izikowitz.
174 The pre-Columbian distribution cannot now be exactly reconstructed except
534 that it was certainly wide. The kettledrum is the oldest and from it an open-bottomed drum developed in Mexico and Central America. It was formerly supposed that two-headed drums were all post-Columbian but Izikowitz has shown that such drums are indigenous at least in Peru and adjacent regions. On the other hand Izikowitz agrees with most previous students in concluding that the drum was unknown in northeastern South America (Amazonia, the Guianas, Venezuela, and the West Indies, at least) until introduced by Europeans. Only a few students have ventured a contrary opinion, for example, Williams says of the Makuchi word sanbura, "This may perhaps be a native word as the drum must have existed before the advent of Europeans." Roth has pointed out apparently conclusive evidence that the first Europeans, including Columbus himself, found single-membrane drums in use in the West Indies, evidence apparently overlooked by Izikowitz. A few early travelers in the Guianas and in Amazonia also mention what seem to be one-membrane drums

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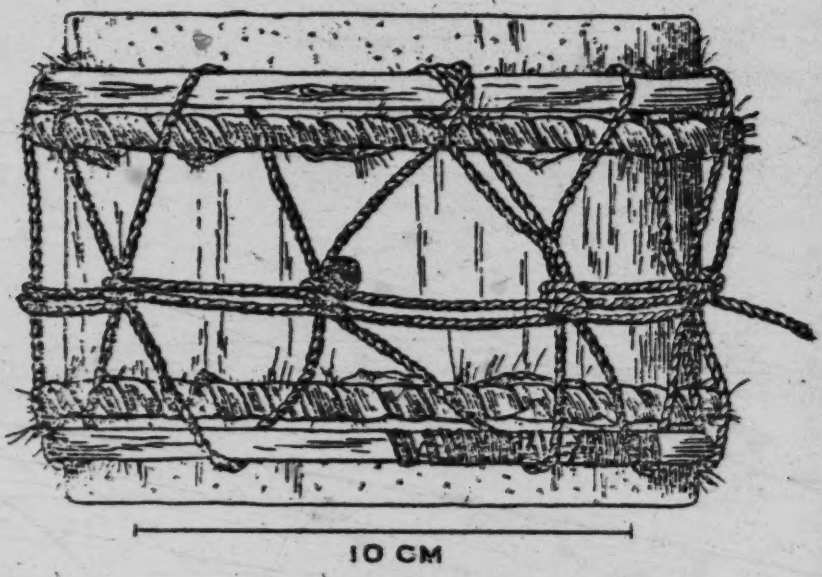

Fig. 68 — Kamarakoto Drum.
A small hand drum such as is carried by the drummer in a parichara dance. Drums up to twice this size or rather more are made in essentially the same way.

[535]

114 (see Roth) but these observations are too recent to exclude indirect European
171 influence, improbable as this is for drums of such a typically American sort.
174 Roth concludes that the double-membrane drum was probably not European but
534 introduced from North America (i.e. inferentially from the North American Indians) but after the European invasion, a conclusion that has not been accepted and that is not very seriously supported by any cogent evidence.

The evidence that the drum is not indigenous in this area is chiefly that it shows almost unmistakable European influence in the usual method of lashing and that over this whole area, regardless of linguistic stocks, it is called by names which, despite Williams' doubts, are almost certainly derived from the Spanish or Portuguese, of which the Kamarakoto word sambura is typical.

This evidence proves that the drums of this region show some, perhaps only indirect, European influence. They do not prove that the drums are of European origin or that they are not derived by post-Columbian evolution from an indigenous drum. Izikowitz, himself, concludes that the essentially similar drums of the Chipayas (southwestern Bolivia) are modified derivatives of pre-Columbian drums and he also notes the difficulty of being sure that a European

114 type of drum has not simply replaced or modified a purely Indian type over
171 wide areas, although he seems not to have paid sufficient heed to his own warn-
174 ings when he drew his sweeping conclusions. It is impossible to be quite sure,
534 either way, but certainly the flat statement that this region had no drums until European introduction is quite unjustified and it is possible, or even probable, that a native drum existed and that it acquired a European name when and because it was modified by introduction of European technical elements of construction.

171 Roth emphasizes that British Guiana drums have a "silent" end (i.e. one
534 that is not struck) on which there is a "resounder" or snare. The Kamarakoto drums have no snare and the two ends are equivalent in structure and tonal quality, even though they are commonly of different sorts of skin.

534 4. The typical instrument of the parichara dance, also used in several
[535] other dances, is a very simple and primitive trumpet called kamai. These are
[824] plain hollow tubes, open at both ends and with any internal partitions removed, of Cecropia (doubtless the primitive material, "yagrumo" in Venezuelan Spanish) or bamboo. They are played, like our metallic trumpets, by applying the mouth to one open end and causing the compressed lips to vibrate by blowing. There are no stops or any special mouthpiece and each kamai produces a single note, but several different sizes, each with its own note, are used by the different players at the same time. We could not detect any particular relationship or harmony between the different pitches of kamai blown simultaneously.
[531] Among other Indian tribes such trumpets are often more or less elaborately decorated, but no decoration whatever had been applied to the several Kamarakoto examples that I observed. This is in keeping with the almost complete absence of extrinsic ornamentation on Kamarakoto articles of manufacture. There is no question that this instrument is entirely indigenous. It is among the oldest of all native South American instruments still in use and the Kamarakotos have it in irreducibly simple and primitive form.

[177] 5. One side-blown cow-horn trumpet was seen, but it was an object of curiosity to the Indians themselves and represents a very recent intrusion, not
[439] part of Kamarakoto culture. Cows are completely unknown in this region and the manufactured trumpet was imported by intertribal trade as a curiosity, probably ultimately from British Guiana although I could not surely confirm
[171] this. Izikowitz notes the presence of such trumpets at various points in South America (the nearest in the Roroima region, represented by a specimen in the Göteborgs Museum) and believes that they represent Negro influence.

534 Although their use of an object so foreign to them is not a very vital
177 datum, it has some bearing on diffusion and transfer of use, which is here seen
[202] in its earliest stage. It is, from this point of view, interesting that Izikowitz says that in this region (the Guianas, Roroima, etc.) side-blown trumpets in general and cow-horn trumpets in particular are used only for signaling. The

534 The
193 Kamarakotos do not signal with trumpets and were using their cow-horn trumpet
202 along with the native kamai in dancing. They call it by the colloquial Spanish
[535] word "cacho" (kacho).

534 6. Without prompting, native informants spoke of a side-blown flute,
171 called naunau. Such flutes, highly variable in detail, are common in the Guiana region (Roth, Izikowitz) and are known from the Taurepáne (von
[128] Hornbostel). Unfortunately I can give no reliable details because no nauman was owned by any of the nearby Indians and I could find no one who would make one, although several professed acquaintance with it.

534 7. One of the commonest and, to our ears, by far the best of Kamarakoto instruments is an end-blown duct flute with deflector and stops, or a plug flute
[124] (in Izikowitz's terminology), in other words, a native flageolet. The generic name for this is lue (or rue — whence the place name Luepa in the Gran Sabana), from the reed of which it is made, and the commonest variety, a small flageo-
[237] let, is called kaikara.[163] The kaikara has a proximal beeswax deflector, leaving only a narrow superior air passage, and four primary stops. These, as well as the sound orifice immediately distal to the deflector, are made by burning. The most proximal of the four stops is placed at one-third of the distance from distal to proximal ends of the instrument and the other three stops evenly spaced between this and the distal end. A supplementary stop, thumb hole, is placed on the lower surface immediately below the first (most proximal) primary stop. This is stopped by the left thumb, while the left index and middle fingers cover the first two stops and right index and middle fingers the two more distal stops.

This instrument has a rather weak but pure and pleasing tone not unlike that of a European flute and with considerable range and variety so that, unlike any other Kamarakoto music, skillful playing on it was enjoyable to our ears.
[535] It is used in some dances, notably the tukiiⁱ (not the parichara), and, unlike
[533] any other instrument as far as we observed, it is also played (by men only) for simple pleasure and entertainment. I have even seen a young man wandering along by himself across the sabanas happily playing really pretty snatches of melody on a kaikara as he went.

534 Izikowitz has shown that flutes of almost innumerable varieties are es-
171 pecially characteristic of aboriginal cultures in South America. In his class of plug flutes, to which the typical Kamarakoto flageolets belong, he distinguishes a purely Indian, pre-Columbian type, of which the kaikara just described might almost be taken as the prototype or classic example, as well as types modified under European influence and others which are native copies of old European models. The Kamarakoto flageolets show no trace of European influence.

As a supplement to this review, it seems advisable to list a few instruments not observed among the Kamarakotos but known among nearby tribes of similar culture:

163 [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 - Analyst]

754 [797] [128] and the boy returned, took to his hammock, developed a high fever, and was at death's door when he was finally saved by the priest's confessing his fault to the boy and withdrawing the kanaima influence. I personally did not witness such a case, but some of the cases of illness related to me by the Indians appeared to involve no possible physical cause and the statements of reliable non-Indian witnesses, traveling both among the Kamarakotos and among several allied tribes, leave no doubt that such cases do really occur.[175]

Other Medical and Similar Magic.

755 Although the piache is the magician and the physician, the use of magic is not entirely confined to him. There are some spells, not the exclusive property of the piache, that can be recited by the victim and by his friends, although these apparently are not considered really effective in severe cases or cases surely involving a kanaima. Koch-Grünberg gives the texts of several such spells from the Taurepáne. Some of them are related to birth, puberty, and other critical physical events and they constitute a simple sort of medical ceremonial which has magical implications but which cannot really be called religious. The idea of invocation of supernatural beings, an essentially religious aspect that is present in the activities of the piaches, is very attenuated or quite absent in these.

755 ● 535 There are also medical dances which are analogous to these simpler spells and are called generically tremba. The most common is the okōyima-tremba, "big snake medicine-dance," which is effective against real bites and against ulcers, which are theoretically believed to be bites. No special costume is worn except bead necklaces and unlike social dances the men and women dance in separate groups. The dance begins at dusk and continues until the following dawn.

751 535 There is also a piache's dance, called mari, which is danced by everyone but led by a piache who sings and shouts. I could learn of no special religious significance for this dance but its ascription to the piache (whereas ordinary social dances are led by the cacique or any competent to³-esa³) suggests that it must have had some such particular significance originally.

535 [289] [533] [224] It is probable that most dances once had some magic significance if they did not definitely arise as magic or religious ceremonials. Thus the parichara songs given elsewhere are in effect quite typical hunting spells. The present-day Kamarakotos, however, informed me that the dances (excepting the tremba, of course) have for them absolutely no utilitarian, magical, or religious significance and that they are danced solely for pleasure. Certainly they are not treated as anything mystical and show no trace of true ritualism.

224 [289] Aside from medicine, magic does not figure to any great extent in Kamarakoto life but there is some hunting magic. Typical hunting magic with a

175 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analysis]

273 a large number of guests, allowing several days for preparations and assembling.
574 Once under way, the party lasts without intermission, day and night,[177] until the drink is exhausted. This usually means two or three days and sometimes means a week or ten days. Men, women, and children assemble and participate on an equal footing, although the children and some of the women remain relatively sober. The drinks, pleasant in moderation, are nauseating in large quantities and it is common for participants to stagger out between rounds, vomit, and return to the fray. Drinkers who become unconscious are dumped somewhere on the ground or in a hammock, while the supply lasts, to recover.
[574] These herculean drinking bouts are thus unattractive to a sober observer, but seem seldom to give rise to the seriously disorderly conduct or fighting that would be expected in a bout of equal proportions among more "civilized" people, or such as are reported by travelers among other tribes.
● [535] A long, social drinking party of this sort is almost invariably accompanied by dancing, also purely social in purpose and practically continuous as long as anyone can stand up to dance.

Dances.

535 There are about a dozen special dances. Some of these are reserved for special occasions, but a long drinking and dancing party involves the performance of at least two and usually several in sequence and alternation.
[171] The most common dance is the parichara, which is danced with variation all over this part of South America, even among some non-Carib tribes. It can
[534] be danced at any time, night or day, and is accompanied by drums and trumpets (kamai) and by singing, but not by flageolets. Some or all of the men wear a special costume, the parichara-pon, consisting of a diadem, aro[a], and a skirt, imaripadai, of maripada palm leaves. As we saw it danced, only the cacique, who directed the dance and led the singing and music, wore the aro[a] but most of the males wore the imaripadai. Women also participate and wear no fixed costume but usually adorn themselves with woven cotton circlets on the hair from which streamers with tufts of down and other decorations fall down the back. Each person dances individually but a man's wife or wives usually accompany him and the sexes are not segregated or specialized in pattern, although the
[533] men provide all the music. The musicians likewise dance and are not set apart as an orchestra.

The dance is monotonous to the observer, continuing indefinitely with no noteworthy variations, with a simple succession of long and short beats. On the long beat a stiff-legged step is taken, usually but not invariably with the right leg, and on the short beat a quicker, springing step is taken on the other foot. The body swings forward and backward in rhythm, flinging up the palm-leaf skirts of the men in a manner suggestive of the Polynesian hula or of what is

177 [see footnote on p. 329, category 116 – Analysis]

535 called "bumping" in American burlesque. The whole group dances in procession, one to three in a row or somewhat irregularly, circling counterclockwise and occasionally stopping and dancing in place or dancing backward for a few steps. Like all dances this is usually done indoors, in an elongate house, but there is no prohibition against taking it outdoors and dancing around the house.

533 535 Various different songs are sung for this dance and improvisation is not frowned upon. Among the Kamarakotos, at least, all the songs imply that the dancers represent, or are imitating, peccaries and the kamai trumpets are supposed to represent the cry of these animals. The following is the text of one

533 539 parichara song of three stanzas:

(1) woto woto wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Animal's animal's call grasping I have come, I have come, I have come, I have come.

(2) poi:nimo wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Savage peccary's call.....etc.

(3) tauka:namo wairi paõkə uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi uyepũi
Wild beast's call.....etc.

Each stanza is repeated three times and the vocalist then jumps back to the first or second stanza and so continues until exhausted.

The following is another parichara song:

(1) iwoto-pɛ ade-polumɛ
Like an animal, I have come visiting.

(2) poyini-pɛ ade-polumɛ
Like a peccary, I have come visiting.

(3) wõyõpũi iyekuni põyuk ade-polumɛ
Coming along the slopes of the hills, I have come visiting.[178]

This is also sung over and over again, phrase by phrase.

533 535 When the dance is finally to end, the kamai-blowers make a long blast and the singer wails tuwɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ-ɛ, with the final vowel very much prolonged [195] and going into a treble squeak. This is not a word but simply a conventional interjection of pleasure and satisfaction in the dance.[179]

[171] Roth (1924, pp. 477-478) gives a parichara song (probably Makuchi and certainly Carib, although he does not specify) that combines the thought of the two that I have given but in different wording and order. It also includes allusions apparently signifying flageolets or flutes, which are not used by the Kamarakotos in the parichara and not mentioned in their parichara songs.

The songs strongly resemble magical hunting spells and suggest that the whole dance arose as hunting medicine, but it has no such meaning to the Indians at present when they consider it solely as a diversion.

178, 179 [see footnotes on p. 329, category 116 - Analysis]

535 Aside from the parichara, the commonest dance is the tukïï' (Fig. 77), literally hummingbird, which is commonly, perhaps always, performed between sessions of the parichara, much as one might alternate waltzs and fox trots.
[302] For the tukïï', the participants remove the parichara-pon and it has no special
[534] costume although the body may be painted black and white for it.[180] It is also danced at any time and with the parichara instruments plus flageolets, flutes, or both. The rhythm is even simpler than that of the parichara, an almost unvarying 1-2, and the step is simply a slow shuffling or a rhythmically accented walk.

A less common dance (and one I did not myself see) is the warepan, which
[302] can be danced only in the afternoon. The dancers are spotted from ankles to head with red paint ("onoto") and draped, in some way not clear from their descriptions, with cotton cloth. The ware and katoi? dances are danced only
[534] at night, without costume. The mari dance is led and sung by a piache and considered a "piache's dance," but is danced by everyone and on social occasions. The various e remba dances, on the other hand, are strictly medicinal.
533 Singing by men characterizes the dances, but it is not confined to this sex or these occasions. Women frequently sing at their work, sing lullabies to the babies, etc.

Other Pastimes.

517 Dancing and drinking are the favorite but by no means the only diversions of the Indians. Some productive activities, notably fish-poisoning, are such gay social occasions that they seem more like games than like work. There are also true games that are enjoyed in place of (or generally in addition to) dancing
526 — nothing takes the place of drinking. Of these a favorite is a combination
[223] race and wrestling match followed by drinking and, frequently, also dancing. Starting at a given point, some distance away (it may be several kilometers), the racers make for a house where a batch of kachiri has been prepared. Here other men wait at the door, and as the runners arrive, their way into the house is blocked and a wrestling match ensues. If a runner can make his way into the house without being thrown (or losing his footing) he rushes up and touches the kachiri trough, whereupon the women, who have been waiting inside, pour kachiri on him — a singular reward for victory. General drinking follows.

Wrestling (Fig. 78) is a favorite sport among both men and boys, but is quite unlike our version. One contestant grasps the other around the waist and without changing his grip endeavors to force the opponent off his feet. This opponent does not ordinarily grasp the first, but otherwise struggles and tries to defeat his purpose, winning if he can break away without losing his footing.

Swimming, which is a great sport especially among the boys, is mentioned elsewhere.

180 [see footnote on p. 329, category 116 - Analyst]
[text continues on p. 249]

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Fig. 77 — Kamarakotos Dancing.
The drummer and another male participant in the tukui' dance. This is the drum shown in Fig. 68. I A
I A [See P. 204, Category 116 -- Analyst]

273 574 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are awake and hilarious at all times.

533 539 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[195] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe dai?, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 171 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint, which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such pseudo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 153 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an airplane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 115 126 128 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and insistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maichaʸ.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[534] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.